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ZIONISM

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THE JEWISH DIASPORA

BY

Paul Goodman.

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# **ZIONISM**

**AND**

## **THE JEWISH DIASPORA**

**BY**

**Paul Goodman.**

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It may be said that there are few, if any, parallels to that intimate, indissoluble connection between a people, its religion and its land which exists in the case of the Jews. Mythology and folklore incline to connect the aborigines of a country with its local deities, but there is no instance of a people within modern civilisation that has any feeling for its country beyond that of patriotism or of love of the ancestral soil. The sense of sanctity attaching to the native country is to be found here and there, as in the veneration felt by pious Russians for Kiev or Moscow, or the patriotic pride of the Italians in the historic glory of Rome. It is somewhat like the appeal that Westminster Abbey makes as a national shrine to the English people. But this sense of the sacred is not a fundamental part of the collective life of those nations. England will remain England without the shrine at



Westminster, as France, the eldest daughter of the Church, has remained France in spite of its official separation from Catholicism. At the same time we find that, in spite of the tenacity with which a people will defend the possession of its motherland, a great deal of this patriotism is governed by political considerations. We observe, for instance, that the French in Canada are indifferent to the fate of France; that the Germans in Austria and Switzerland, though once politically united with other Germans in their proximity, are relatively independent of the present German Reich. We have seen in the case of the United States of America that even a determined antagonism may grow up in a colony towards the home of the race.

In the case of the Jews, in spite of distance of time and place, there has never been a definite divorce of the people from its religion and its land. It is remarkable that even those who are most insistent on their indifference to Palestine as the homeland of the Jewish people have taken great pains to interest themselves in that country. The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, organisations which before the War competed primarily for the spread not of Jewish but of French and German influences respectively, devoted to Palestine a measure of their resources and energies quite out of proportion to the number of the Jewish inhabitants of that part of the world.

The reason for this instinctive attachment of the Jews to Palestine is to be found in the hold which the Land of Israel has exercised on the people of Israel from the very earliest times. If we go through the Books of Moses, from the call of Abraham till the entry of the children of Israel into the Promised Land, we find that the idea of the possession of that land as an integral part of the purpose and destiny of the people is a dominant note which is never absent in the history and legislation, in the discipline and the religion of those to whom God has given that supreme national blessing. The words in which the call of God comes to Abraham begin: "Go forth from thy country and from thy birth-place and from thy father's house unto the land that I will shew

thee" (Gen. xii., 1). Throughout the story of the patriarchs, the possession of that land by their descendants is held out as the great reward for their faithfulness. When we read through the wonderful narrative that closes with Moses' vision of the land from Pisgah, we are moved by the words of God to him: "This is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I give it" (Deut. xxxiv., 4). Ha-arez, the Land *par excellence*, which God has given to His people, is invested with every beautiful imagery, with a sanctity that made its occupation the symbol of God's grace to the patriarchs and their descendants. Just as the possession of the land was to be a reward for the fulfilment of the commandments of God, so disobedience to His laws would entail the loss of that country.

The special place which the land of Israel occupied in the spiritual as well as in their national life was, of course, part of that religious discipline which, like the people, was intended to serve a higher purpose. But it is only necessary to refer to the great Prophets of Israel, who proclaimed the universality of His sway, to realise that the land of Israel was indeed regarded as a priceless possession. It was not only, in the words of Deuteronomy, "a land which the Lord thy God careth for; always are the eyes of the Lord thy God upon it" (Deut. xi., 12), or in the appeal of the psalmist, "For thy servants take pleasure in her stones and favour the dust thereof" (Ps. cii., 14), but it is out of Zion that the Law shall go forth to the nations of the earth. The second Isaiah, the most universalistic of the Prophets, hailed also in most exalted strain the triumphant return of the exiled people to its own land.

The Babylonian Captivity was unquestionably an event which was looked upon as the long-heralded calamity that was to have overtaken the people because of their sins. The Return, on the other hand, was ushered in by the words: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins" (Isaiah xl., 1, 2). It is neces-

sary to emphasize this aspect of the question in view of the heresy which asserts that instead of the contrite confession: "Because of our sins we were exiled from our land," we ought to rejoice "that we have been removed far from our country." Whatever spiritual comfort may be derived from this idea, the doctrine is certainly new and has no support in Jewish tradition and sentiment.

The designation *Golah* or *Galuth* (The Captivity, or Diaspora [Dispersion] in the Greek translation) was applied to those who had been deported from their own land to Babylon. The exiles spread over the Babylonian Empire, and, in spite of such outbursts of despair as we find depicted in Psalm cxxxvii., rapidly adapted themselves to their new environment. Their material condition was probably good, and spiritually, too, there was opened up a new horizon before them. But the bond that kept the exiles to their native land is best illustrated in the case of Nehemiah, who held the high position of cupbearer to the King. In the first chapter of Nehemiah we read:—

"And it came to pass . . . that Hanani, one of my brethren, came, he and certain men of Judah; and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, which were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem. And they said unto me, The remnant that are left of the captivity there in the province are in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jerusalem also is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire. And it came to pass, when I heard these words, that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven. And said, I beseech thee, O Lord God of heaven, the great and terrible God, that keepeth covenant and mercy for them that love him and observe his commandments: Let thine ear now be attentive, and thine eyes open, that thou mayest hear the prayer of thy servant, which I pray before thee now, day and night, for the children of Israel thy servants, and confess the sins of the children of Israel, which we have sinned against thee: both I and my father's house have sinned. We have dealt very corruptly against thee, and have not kept the commandments, nor the



statutes, nor the judgments, which thou commandedst thy servant Moses. Remember, I beseech thee, the word that thou commandedst thy servant Moses, saying, If ye transgress, I will scatter you abroad among the nations: But if ye turn unto me, and keep my commandments, and do them; though there were of you cast out unto the uttermost parts of the heaven, yet will I gather them from thence, and will bring them unto the place that I have chosen to set my name there."

What would have become of the Jewish captives in Babylonia if Ezra and Nehemiah had not set up the Judæan community may be surmised if we consider the fate of the captives of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. They disappeared, and left no trace behind them. There was no one, no body which preserved a record of their sufferings and strivings in exile, and what we now know of their tragic history we owe to the revival of the polity of Judah on the return from Babylonia. But we are also told that the exiles who returned to rebuild the Temple and the city of Jerusalem were only a very small number, and that the dissolution of the people had assumed extensive proportions by intermarriage, and the ignorance of their national language and religious traditions. Yet it was this post-exilic community of Jews that produced some of the choicest treasures of our literature and consolidated the faith and practices of Israel for all time.

The new Judæan commonwealth was politically of very little importance, and its survival during great upheavals was mostly due to its weakness and obscurity, but spiritually it created Judaism as we know it, and gave birth to Christianity. The Temple and the academies in Jerusalem became the rallying point of the Jewish race in its ever-increasing dispersion. It was not only that every adult male member paid a half-shekel into the treasury of the Temple, but Jerusalem was the object of pilgrimage by Jews from all parts of the Diaspora.

The Jewish Diaspora at the time of the second Temple may be roughly divided into the Babylonian and the Græco-Roman sections. Both parts of the Diaspora looked to Palestine as their motherland and paid reverence to Jerusalem as the Holy City, but, at the same

time, there was in existence a local patriotism not unlike that which Jews possess at this day. The attitude of most "assimilated" Hellenistic Jews towards the centre of their race and faith on the one hand and towards their native lands on the other, may best be illustrated in the following words of Philo who, in the first century, was equally proud of Alexandria and of Jerusalem, just as an English Jew may feel towards Jerusalem and London in the twentieth century: "For no one country can contain the whole Jewish nation, by reason of its populousness, on which account they frequent all the most prosperous and fertile countries of Europe or Asia, whether islands or continents, looking, indeed, upon the Holy City as their metropolis in which is erected the sacred temple of the most High God, but accounting those regions which have been occupied by their fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and still more remote ancestors, in which they have been born and brought up, as their country" (Philo, *Against Flaccus*, Yonge's transl., IV., p. 70).

The destruction of the Temple and the end of Jewish independence intensified the sentiment which Jews felt for their motherland. The patriarch of Tiberias was able to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the Diaspora by reason of his residence in the Holy Land, and it was only by the gradual extermination of the Jews in Palestine that the centre of authority was shifted to the schools that had been established in Babylonia. Nevertheless, the longing for the land of Israel among the Babylonians is evidenced by numerous references in the Talmudic literature. There are well-known sayings, such as that by R. Johanan: "He who walks a distance of four cubits in Palestine is assured of a share in the world to come," or that to live in the land of Israel outweighs in merit all the commandments of the Torah. Just as at the present day the Jewish pilgrim feels drawn to kiss the Western Wall of the Temple, so R. José ben Hanina kissed the stones of Acre, saying, "Up to this point is the land of Israel." To live in Palestine was in itself considered not only an inestimable privilege but of very great merit. To be buried in Palestine is, as we know by the innumerable pilgrims who went to Palestine



only for the purpose of ending their last days there and finding their eternal rest in the hallowed soil, a yearning that has made a profound appeal to the Jew throughout the ages. And those who could not enjoy the privilege of being buried in the Holy Land had at least some particles of its earth sprinkled over them when committed to the grave.

Palestine also filled a special phase in Talmudic literature on account of the "Mizvot hateluyot ba-arez," the commandments that are only applicable in that land. There was the important distinction between Erez Israel and Huz la-arez, between the land of Israel and the Diaspora. The keen concern which the Talmudic sages had for maintaining and increasing the Jewish population in Palestine is evidenced by the various legal and ritual facilities they enacted to further this purpose. It was only under the stress of actual starvation that it was permissible for anyone to leave Palestine; the export of the necessities of life from Palestine was discouraged. What was thought of the Jewish colonization of Palestine in Talmudic times we may infer from the enactment that a Jew who proposed buying land in Palestine from a Gentile could have the contract written out on the Sabbath day.

It is needless to emphasize the pre-eminent importance which the Holy Land occupies in the prayers, the festivals and the fasts. It is a remarkable instance of the divorce of religion from life that men of piety who devoutly pray for the Return and who observe most scrupulously the fast days should evince no practical interest in the object of their apparently intense yearning. Still more strange is the fact that Jews who offer up those prayers and observe the fasts and feasts maintain that they are not meant to be for what they were instituted. We can at least understand those who have deliberately erased from their prayers the references to the Return, who have given up the fasts and have changed their forms of prayers on the festivals—we need not argue with them for the present, but they nevertheless implicitly admit that the Nationalist interpretation of the prayers, of the fasts and the feasts is in accordance with the original tradition and with Jewish sentiment.

The place of affection which Palestine always held in the hearts of the Jews is strikingly illustrated by the pilgrimages

which Jews have undertaken to that country from all climes and in all ages. There were many who went to Palestine to die in that country; among those pilgrims there were not only those who braved the hardships of a life dependent on the charity of others—though the world-wide collections of the Haluka (for the relief of indigent Jews in Palestine) may not be regarded in the light of mere almsgiving—but also many men of distinction and of learning who made the pious pilgrimage to the Holy Land to live there. The special interest attaching to Judah Halevi is his love of Zion, which, in those far-off days of pirates and slave-dealers, he sealed with his pilgrimage to the land of his ideal. Those great lights of Rabbinical Judaism, Moses Maimonides and Moses Nachmanides, in the twelfth and thirteenth century, went to the Holy Land for inspiration. In the thirteenth century, when the governor of Jerusalem granted permission to Jews to visit the cave of Machpelah, the burial place of the patriarchs, 300 rabbis from England and France made a pilgrimage to Palestine. It is significant that the “Shulhan Aruch,” by Rabbi Joseph Caro, which has remained to this day the authoritative standard code of modern Judaism, was composed there. The spread of the Cabbalah, with its lore regarding the mystic qualities of the soil of Erez Israel, gave an added touch of sanctity to that ever-hallowed land to which many of the devotees of the Cabbalah, particularly the Hassidim, proceeded for the purpose of getting into closer touch and communion with the spirit that is supposed to reign there. The adage, “The air of the land of Israel maketh wise,” has long passed into the currency of Jewish life and thought, and throughout the dispersions of Israel it has always been felt that the Shechinah, the Divine Presence, was in exile with His people, exiled from that Holy City which God has specially chosen for His abode.

While in the long, drawn-out Galuth those who settled in Palestine did so out of pietistic motives, to lead there a life of study and contemplation, it was only because of lack of opportunities or of organisation that the Jewish Settlement in Palestine did not assume a larger and economically more independent

aspect. In the sixteenth century we see not only the growth of the Jewish settlement of Cabbalists, but Joseph Nasi entered on a well-ordered plan of Jewish colonization near the lake of Tiberias. Unfortunately, the political conditions, the lack of men who combined energy of action with wide vision, and the generally disorganised state of Jewry made any systematic Jewish colonization of Palestine well-nigh impossible. The restoration of the Jews to their homeland was always in the air, but it remained a mere dream, a pious hope. Even the practical effort of Mordecai Manuel Noah, who, as a stepping-stone to the colonization of Palestine, attempted in 1825 the creation of a Jewish agricultural colony in the State of New York, led to no result. It required a man like Sir Moses Montefiore, with his prestige among Jews and Gentiles, with his indomitable energy and considerable resources, to bring the Jewish colonization of Palestine within the realm of actuality. What honoured place Palestine occupied in the heart and mind of the most illustrious Jew produced by England needs no telling, for he devoted his life to the regeneration of his people not only in championing their emancipation all over the world but in furthering by all the means at his disposal their re-settlement in Palestine. Sir Moses Montefiore is the classical evidence of the compatibility of the political emancipation of the Jews in the Diaspora with a potential Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. For the efforts that Sir Moses Montefiore made in connection with Palestine were not merely the well-meaning endeavours of a large-hearted philanthropist, but the considered plans of a Jewish statesman. The actions and utterances of Sir Moses Montefiore leave no doubt as to his efforts for the ultimate creation of a Jewish Palestine. His extant schemes and his negotiations with Mohamed Ali show that he anticipated many of the ideas and plans which Zionists have since then adopted as part of Jewish national policy. If there were any doubt as to the views and sentiments of this protagonist of Jewish emancipation in England, we can have our minds set at rest by a positive statement on this point in Mr. Lucien Wolf's excellent biography of Sir Moses Montefiore, while he was still in the land of the living. Mr. Lucien Wolf stated: "He unites a literal adher-



ence to the hopes of a national restoration of Israel as expressed by the Prophets and Rabbis. When questioned on the subject some years ago, he answered, with a satisfied smile: 'I am quite certain of it; it has been my constant dream, and I hope will be realised some day when I shall be no more.' To the objection that it would be impossible to gather in the Israelites scattered in all corners of the globe, he replied: 'I do not expect that all Israelites will quit their abodes in those territories in which they feel happy, even as there are Englishmen in Hungary, Germany, America, Japan; but Palestine must belong to the Jews, and Jerusalem is destined to become the seat of a Jewish Empire.' " ("Sir Moses Montefiore: A Centennial Biography," p. 276). It is perhaps not without interest at the present time to hear what Mr. Lucien Wolf had to say in 1884 on this and other aspects of Sir Moses Montefiore. Mr. Wolf added to Sir Moses' remarks, by way of comment, the following words: "It is notable that critics of Judaism who find a dangerous narrowness in this creed—they call it 'tribalism'—have never attempted to explain the phenomenon of its development in the person of Moses Montefiore of the most unrestricted humanitarianism. The noble spirit with which it has inspired him is illustrated by his entire career; but happily, in many of his letters, he has given it a definite expression upon which those who come after him may do well to ponder."

It is not the purpose here to give an account of the Jewish colonization of Palestine, except in so far as it may show the hold which the idea of a Jewish Palestine has had on the hearts and minds of the Jews throughout their dispersions. The Alliance Israélite Universelle has, from the very first, devoted a disproportionately large part of its efforts for the amelioration of the Jews in Palestine, and even though in later years, with the weakening of the Jewish national idea which had originally brought the Alliance into being, its energies drifted into a wrong channel, it could not obviate the inevitable fact that whatever was created by or for the Jews in Palestine added to the strength of Jewish Nationalism not only in that country but among Jews generally.

The struggle for the civil and political emancipation of the

Jews in the Diaspora absorbed too much of their energies, and their hopes as to the effects of emancipation were too roseate, to permit of any but a passing interest in Palestine. Some there were, like Charles Netter, the founder of the Agricultural School "Mikveh Israel," who were carried along by the spell which Palestine exercises on most Jews who have visited it even in the days of its abasement. Joseph Salvador brought the idea of a Jewish State into relation with the spiritual regeneration of the world. An advanced thinker like Moses Hess struck on the political conception of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine by a purely logical conception of the Jewish national problem, without the religious impedimenta which have more often proved a hindrance than a support to a clear, unprejudiced view of the Jewish question as a purely human problem. The wave of Nationalism which swept over Europe, particularly in the emancipation of the Balkan races from the Turkish yoke, involuntarily turned the minds of many Jews to the possibilities of their own national freedom. The pogroms in Russia in 1881 brought these floating ideas, hardly to be discerned in the general struggle for emancipation, into the light of the day, while in the great avalanche that swept hundreds of thousands of Jews out of Russia, the question of the re-settlement of Palestine by Jews became of urgent, practical importance.

To the Chovevi Zion, Palestine was the one and only country where the Jews could build up an autonomous community of their own. But there were Jewish Nationalists to whom the traditional sentiment regarding Erez Israel had ceased to appeal, and it is for this reason that some, like Pinsker, were more concerned for the development of a Jewish self-governing territory than for the re-settlement of Palestine. Not a few attempted to find in agricultural colonies in America that possibility to escape alien domination which was a motive of their emigration quite as much as the necessity to find a place of security for life and property. It was this relative absence of the traditional Jewish sentiment for Palestine that subsequently led some Nationalists to join the Jewish Territorial Organisation in search for a Jewish home in any part of the inhabited or uninhabited globe. But the experiments that have

been attempted to form a Jewish community with the potentialities of a State have failed because they lacked that essential quality of attachment to the soil which is inherent in the idea of Hibath Zion. The love of Zion has bound the homeless people to its unpeopled home by those subtle bonds which we readily discern in the attachment of all other nations to the land of their ancestors. To a people like the Jews, which had been rooted out of its natural soil for so many centuries, it was only by restored contact with its historic land that it could renew its national existence.

It is this understanding of the elementary principle of Jewish nationhood that brought Theodor Herzl from the colourless Nationalism he outlined in his "Jews' State" to that profound love for the ancestral land which led him to his last wish that when his people shall return to Erez Israel they shall take his bones with them to be interred in the national soil. But the idea which Herzl entertained of the Return was that of a Prophet. When, at a memorable mass meeting at the Great Assembly Hall, in London, he proclaimed that soon the Jewish people would be set into motion, he spoke in the apocalyptic strain that had impelled not only himself, but innumerable thousands of his people, to believe that at last, in their own days, the Geulah, the Redemption, was near at hand.

To Herzl and those who, in the first years of his activity, were engaged in the work of national redemption, the question as to the relations between a Jewish Palestine and the Diaspora were of little concern. There were some, like Nathan Birnbaum (known by the pseudonym of Matthias Acher), and S. Dubnow, the exponent of "Spiritual Nationalism," who evolved the ideal of a national-cultural autonomy of the Galuth, particularly in Eastern Europe, and Achad Ha'am, the philosopher of Jewish Nationalism, gave a brilliant setting and new interpretation to Jewish history and destiny, but the whole weight of the Zionist forces was concentrated on the almost superhuman task of turning the Zionist idea of the restoration of Israel to its homeland into a reality. It was only as time went on and many latent forces called for action that Zionism set about to Nation-



alize Jewry in the Diaspora. There was the famous *mot d'ordre* by Max Nordau that the Zionists should "capture the communities," i.e., take charge of Jewish communal bodies, and raise them from purely denominational or charitable congregations to a higher conception of Jewish organisation. The Jewish community was henceforth to resume the functions of the historic Jewish Kehillah, and nothing Jewish should be alien to it. At the fourth Zionist Congress held in London there was also elaborated an ambitious idea, called "Gegenwarts arbeit," by which Zionists were no longer to confine their efforts to the creation of a Jewish Palestine, but should also turn their energies to Jewish work nearest at hand. Part of this programme was already then in operation. There was education, the elementary basis of Jewish life, which was transferred under the sway of Zionism from an antiquated system into a living force. The traditional mode of imparting a knowledge of Hebrew gave way to the system of the teaching of Hebrew as a living tongue, Ibrith be'ibrith, which, in spite of its drawbacks, created a wholesome revolution in the teaching of a language and literature which then, even among its devotees, had come to be regarded as artificial, if not dead. Then we had the great awakening of the University youth. Here thousands upon thousands of young intellectuals, estranged from Judaism, came back to the Jewish fold under the inspiration of the resurrection of their people. The Jewish class-conscious proletariat, which had come to look upon Judaism as a hateful auxiliary of economic enslavement, also returned in large numbers to the old faith of which the labouring masses had once been the main support. Many men of mature judgment, who had turned their backs on Judaism long ago, now put into it a new content, and gave to it a new sense of loyalty. The memorable words uttered by Herzl at the first Congress: "Zionism means the return to Judaism even before the return to the Jewish land," had now become true.

Among the scattered Jewish minorities in the nationally homogeneous West the effects of Zionism showed themselves mostly in individuals, though it brought also a quickened

force into communal life, and promoted a study and understanding of the conditions of the living Jewish people instead of the archæological researches of the "science" of Judaism, as it was aptly called. In an ever-growing degree it became recognised that philanthropy can effect no solution of the Jewish problem, and that it is in Palestine alone that the civic sense of the many "homeless" Jews can be adequately satisfied. But in the East, Zionism produced a revolution in the Jewish outlook, a re-orientation of Jewish prospects and hopes among those who, by their social and intellectual standing, had assumed the leadership of the Jewish people. Even when these elements did not range themselves under the Zionist banner, they implicitly acknowledged the justice of the Zionist claims by demands for the national grouping of the Jews where they lived in more or less compact masses. The idea of the nationalization of Jewish life has permeated even those who are nominally hostile to Zionism. Already, during the high hopes entertained in the constitutional revolution in Russia in 1905, the project of a national-cultural autonomy of the Russian and Polish Jews had become popular among all sections of the Jewish people, and was accepted by the revolutionary forces that were shaping the new Russia as a legitimate, if not self-understood, claim of an ancient people with its historic religion and traditions. Even the pronouncedly anti-Nationalist Russo-Jewish Labour "Bund" had perforce to turn its hostility into a sullen acquiescence. The fundamental idea underlying Jewish Nationalism, which is still agitating so many minds in the West, has received almost universal acceptance among those Jews in the East who are concerned for the future of their people, and the differences among the various sections are only as to the interpretation and application of that idea.

What will be the relations of Zionism to the Diaspora in the future?

It may be said that if the Zionist conception of a Jewish National Home in Palestine be realised, Zionism will cease to represent a party within the Jewish people. Already we see among those who oppose Zionism out of principle, or for the sake of ex-

pediency, a somewhat suspicious claim to present some phase of Zionism as an adequate fulfilment of the age-long yearnings of the people of Israel. The famous anti-Zionist manifesto of the former Anglo-Jewish Foreign "Conjoint Committee" began with a fervent protestation of absorbing interest in the welfare of Palestine and of the Jewish future in that country. One of the objects of the League of British Jews—the only concrete and positive part of its programme—is "to facilitate the settlement in Palestine of such Jews as may desire to make Palestine their home." As it was once said that we were all Socialists now, so we can anticipate that, with the recognition of Zionism not only by Jewish democracy but by the world outside, all nationally conscious Jews will become Zionists, even though Zionists of a sort.

The crucial point in which most non-Zionist Jews are interested is the political attitude which Jews in the Diaspora will have to assume towards the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, and how far this will affect their political status in the countries of their allegiance. The reply to this question has two aspects: the internal one and the external. In so far as the Jews of Palestine are concerned, the conception of a "Jewish National Home," as distinguished from a number of colourless urban and rural settlements of Jews, presupposes the creation and development of a specifically Jewish polity. It is obvious that anyone who lends himself to Jewish colonization in Palestine in any form is *nolens volens* supporting the development of a Jewish national entity in that country. The only feasible, but obviously impracticable, alternative is that the Jews in Palestine should become Arabs of the Jewish persuasion. Therefore, there remains the fact, amply demonstrated by the new Jewish Settlement in Palestine, that the Jews in their National Home would necessarily create a Jewish political organism. How and when Palestine will develop ultimately into a self-governing Jewish commonwealth, at least into a country in which men and women of Jewish race and faith, of Hebrew speech and culture will become the politically predominant type, will depend as much on the sympathies and self-sacrifice of the Jews in the Diaspora as on the course of events



in Palestine under the British Mandate of the League of Nations.

This, however, does not mean that all Jews living in Palestine will as a matter of course owe political allegiance to it, whatever form Palestinian citizenship may take in international law; certainly not, that Jews outside Palestine will have any political relations whatever with their people in that country. In Palestine, we must distinguish the civil from the political aspect of the question. The Jew of American or French citizenship could retain in Palestine, as elsewhere, the duties and rights of his political allegiance, so long, of course, as he did not change it by naturalization, but in matters of local government, in the administration of justice, in education, in religion, as well as in taxation, the American or French Jew might be bound by certain legal enactments governing the Jewish community. It could not well be otherwise, nor does it appear that there is any hardship involved, assuming that a Jew, living amidst a self-governing community of Jews in Palestine, did not regard it as an inestimable privilege to be under Jewish jurisdiction. Beyond this local jurisdiction over those Jews who are domiciled in Palestine, the Jewish nationality in that country would raise or command no political claims whatever over those who will live outside the geographical boundaries assigned to the Jewish Palestine.

To what extent the existence in Palestine of a Jewish National Home would affect the political status of the Jews in the Diaspora must, therefore, be judged by the preceding remarks. It is, of course, conceivable that opponents of the Jews would use this as a pretext against them, but such an attitude has not hitherto been dependent on the existence of Zionism or of a Jewish Palestine. The thoroughly assimilationist Alliance Israélite Universelle has in fact been used in innumerable instances as a weapon against the Jews; the mere existence of financiers of Jewish descent, who have denied all sympathy with their people or any interest in their future, has been a fertile source of charges against the Jews. The attacks of Stöcker, Drumont and Lueger, and the anti-Semitic agitation in Germany and France, were initiated before the rise of Jewish Nationalism in Western Europe, and were directed against circles that

lay open to no suspicion of Jewish separatism. The anti-Semitic campaign of "The Morning Post" and "The New Witness," with its emphasis on the "double allegiance" of the Jews, is not due to Zionist aspirations, but is admittedly directed against Jews of influence in English public life, such as Mr. Edwin Montagu, who are notoriously opposed to the very idea of a Jewish nationality. Of course, against malevolence or stupidity even the gods fight in vain, but there may be some reason to assume that the existence of a Jewish Palestine as the national centre of the Jewish people will provide a clear-cut issue on which all those of good faith, whether Jews or non-Jews, will be able to determine their attitude.

This problem may be simplified by the process of elimination which will be brought about by the existence of Jewish Nationalism as a determining factor in Jewish life. It is possible that there will be a definite cleavage between those who will look to Judæa as their spiritual home while retaining their political allegiance, their patriotic associations, their economic interests in the lands of their birth and of their children's future, and those who will deliberately cut themselves adrift from Jewish Nationalism by a further development of Jewish Universalism and will merge their individual identification into the ideals and aspirations of their non-Jewish neighbours. But both sections may include two groups—the Nationalists in the Diaspora will be morally reinforced by those who will be Judæans, either actual or potential, and the Universalists will be faced by those who will feel that they have no place in Judaism, and will, therefore, sever their connection with it. These necessary distinctions will do away with the presumption of those who, without any faith in the Jewish religion or in the future of the Jewish people, speak, and are quoted, as representing the views and hopes of the Jews. While, in the one case, the uncompromising Zionist may ultimately find his spiritual, if not political, ideal in citizenship of the Judæan commonwealth, the un-Jewish Jew will relieve himself of a tie which is as weakening to Judaism as it is embarrassing to himself.

These anticipations, however, in so far as they deal merely with

the political aspect of things, only touch the surface of the Jewish problem, and those who concentrate their attention on the possible effects of Jewish Nationalism on the political status of the Jews in the lands of the Dispersion are hardly doing justice to the gravity and subtleness of the question. The disintegration of Jewry, particularly owing to its gradual break-up into separate territorial and cultural sections, is counteracted by the positive thesis of Zionism that, despite of the proved, indeflectable loyalty of the Jews to the lands of their birth or adoption and the inevitable differences due to environment and education, Israel is in essentials a national organism, a spiritual and social unity. The Jewish collective will to live cries out for such a solid foot-hold and rallying force as can only be afforded by a Jewish national-spiritual centre in Palestine and by that synthesis of Jewish ideals and aspirations that have found their expression in Zionism. On the other hand, there is the obvious difficulty, which seems consistently ignored, of reconciling the claim of non-conforming Jews in the Diaspora to belong to a community ostentatiously assumed by them to be of a purely religious character. A de-nationalised Judaism, with a special emphasis against the national features in the Jewish religion, will be worn away by the corroding influences of Rationalism and secularism. With the inevitable acceptance of the doctrine of individual freedom of thought, Judaism in the Diaspora will have to face fairly and squarely the question of the purely racial Jew who denies not only the national but the religious *raison d'être* of the Jewish race. But when we find that the Nationalist conception of Jewry has attracted again to the service of the Jewish people men of diverse religious and philosophical convictions and temperaments, we may assume that a many-sided national life, with its stimulating effects on the self-consciousness and creative powers of the Jews, will lead to an active association with their people of such Jews who, in the absence of any specific interest in the narrowly circumscribed manifestations of present-day Jewish communal life, have no means of identifying themselves more closely with the affairs of a sectarian, as distinguished from a national, community.



The Diaspora will remain the battlefield of Judaism, where, amidst hostile influences, it will maintain the social and spiritual ideas inherent in the Jewish mentality and way of life, but reinforced by the vitality and inspiration it will derive from the Jewish Renaissance in Erez Israel. The Diaspora will at the same time also be the great reservoir whence for generations to come the Jewish Palestine will draw the necessary human and material resources for its growth and upbuilding. In Palestine these resources will be transmuted into Jewish spiritual and cultural values that will become the life-blood coursing through Judaism all over the world. Israel in the Diaspora will remain the Witness of God among the nations of the earth—no longer, indeed, suffering under the consciousness of being in Galuth, in physical and spiritual exile; not, indeed, debased by the feeling of impotence, but uplifted by the realisation that Israel has at last come into its own, that Judaism is not living merely on its great past, is not only receptive and assimilative, but creative and again enriching the world by the native genius of Israel, “for the Lord hath built up Zion; He hath appeared in His glory” (Ps., cii., 16).

With all the new forms of Jewish life that will arise with the development of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, it will widen immeasurably that narrow view which sees in Judaism a religion confined to a peculiar people and which has come to regard a charitable disposition as the highest test of Jewish public spirit. With new responsibilities there will also develop a more heroic conception of Jewish civic life. There will come a day when a Jew will consider it quite as natural to lay down his life for his own people as for the country of his citizenship. In the Jewish Palestine, there will emerge in Judaism a new sense of the spiritual, whereby Conservatism will cease to denote a mere steadfast adherence to tradition and the Reform of Judaism a gamble with the Jewish future. There will be a growth, an evolution of Judaism, but it will have its roots, as in the Biblical days of old, in the hallowed soil of Erez Israel. For under the inspiration of the resurrection of the Jewish people there will arise new Jewish values and ideals, new forms of Jewish piety and saintliness; there will rise up men whose lips will again be touched by live coal from the

Jewish altar, and whose minds will be fired by the social and spiritual ideas that will go to the making of a rejuvenated Israel. And this self-revelation of the latter days, this redemption of the ancient people of Israel from the age-long spell of the Captivity of Two Thousand Years, will bring a new message to the Jews in the Diaspora, perhaps a new message to mankind. For Zionists, more than any other Jews, are moved by the fervent hope of a great future in store for the Jewish people, and indeed believe that once again "the Torah shall go forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."



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